certè indicijs fidem nostram in Deū comprobabimus sic nobis liberationem hanc fidem confirmasse.

Quodsi corde iam tandèm ad salutem credamus: *Ecce confirmabitur hac ratione interna sinceritas*, & conscij hoc indicio integritatis nostræ, *effundemur largiùs puriori gaudio*, vt ipsius mensurā tandē adimpleamus.

Hoc enim est quod addit propheta. *Et omnes recti corde gaudebunt*. i. Non lætabuntur solum Justi in præsentis sensu beneficij, sed ex internâ cordis integritate ius suum in illud apprehēdentes, vel *iterùm gaudent in Domino suo*; & gaudium ipsorum nemo auferet.

Intuemini (viri Fratres) fructum beneficiorum Dei, quod piorū corda gaudio adimpleant: obseruate mensuram æternæ beatitudinis, plenum scilicèt in fauore Dei gaudium. Probate itaq; vos metipsos an sitis in fide: nū in tanta liberatione purè exultaveritis. Probate si fidei exitum iam tandem consequamini, salutem scilicet animarum vestrarū, si in omnibus agentes gratias plenum in Domino vnico gaudium percipiatis.

Quodsi verè in Domino pro beneficijs ipsius gavisi fueritis, attollite iam capita vestra quia redemptio vestra appropinquat. Ecce liberatio hæc pignus *redemptionis*. Ecce & *Resurrectionis* nostræ tessera vel pulcherrima. Expectemus itaq; Christum è cœlis adventantem quoties bonitatem Dei in hâc liberatione contemplamur, & præparemur hilariter in occursum Domini nostri Jesu Christi. *Cui cum Patre & Spiritu sancto Deo vni & trino in perpetuum beatissimo, omnis Maiestas, potentia, gloria, Laus, Dominatio, cum gratiarum actione in omnem æternitatem ascribatur.*

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FINIS.

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THE KINGS MAIESTIES SPEACH

To the Lords and Commons *of this preſent Parliament at Whitehall*, on Wedneſday the xxj. of March.

K. Iames

ANNO DOM. 1609.

¶ *Imprinted at London by* Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſtie.

THE KINGS MAIESTIES SPEACH to the Lords and Commons of this present Parliament at *Whitehall, &c.*

WE being now in the middest of this season appointed for penitence & prayer, it hath so fallen out, that these two last dayes haue bin spent in a farre other sort of exercise, I meane in Eucharisticke Sacrifice, and gratulation of thankes, presented vnto mee by both the parts of this body of Parliament: and therefore to make vp the number of three, (which is the number of Trinitie, and perfection) I haue thought good to make this the third Day, to be spent in this exercise.

As ye made me a faire Present indeed

in presenting your thanks and louing duties vnto mee: So haue I now called you here, to recompence you againe with a great and a rare Present, which is a faire and a Christall Mirror; Not such a Mirror wherein you may see your owne faces, or shadowes; but such a Mirror, or Christall, as through the transparantnesse thereof, you may see the heart of your King. The Philosophers wish, That euery mans breast were a Christall, where-through his heart might be seene, is vulgarly knowen, and I touched it in one of my former Speeches vnto you. But though that were impossible in the generall, yet will I now performe this for my part, That as it is a true Axiome in Diuinitie, That *Cor Regis* is *in manu Domini*, So will I now set *Cor Regis in oculis populi.* I know that I can say nothing at this time, whereof some of you that are here, haue not at one time or other, heard mee say the like already: Yet as corporall food nourisheth and mainteineth the body, so doth *Reminiscentia* nourish and mainteine memory.

I Wil reduce to three generall and maine grounds, the principall things that haue bene agitated in this Parliament, and whereof I will now speake.

First, the Arrand for which you were called by me; and that was, for supporting of my state, and necessities.

The second is, that which the people are to moue vnto the King: To represent vnto him such things, whereby the Subiects are vexed, or wherein the state of the Common wealth is to be redressed: And that is the thing which you call grieuances.

The third ground that hath beene handled amongst you, and not onely in talke amongst you in the Parliament, but euen in many other peoples mouthes, aswell within, as without the Parliament, is of a higher nature then any of the former (though it be but an Incident;) And the reason is, because it concernes a higher point, And this is a doubt, which hath bene in the heads of some, of my Intention in two things.

Firſt, whether I was reſolued in the generall, to continue ſtill my gouernment according to the ancient forme of this State, and the Lawes of this Kingdome: Or if I had an intention not to limit my ſelfe within thoſe bounds, but to alter the ſame when I thought conuenient, by the abſolute power of a King.

The other branch is anent the Common Law, which ſome had a conceit I diſliked, and (in reſpect that I was borne where another forme of Law was eſtabliſhed) that I would haue wiſhed the Ciuill law to haue bene put in place of the Common law for gouernment of this people. And the complaint made amongſt you of a book written by doctor *Cowel*, was a part of the occaſion of this incident. But as touching my cenſure of that book, I made it already to be deliuered vnto you by the Treaſurer here ſitting, which he did out of my owne directions and notes; and what he ſaid in my name, that had he directly from me. But what he ſpake of himſelfe therein without my direction, I ſhall al-

wayes make good; for you may be sure I will be loth to make so honest a man a lyer, or deceiue your expectations: alwayes within very few dayes my Edict shal come forth anent that matter, which shall fully discouer my meaning.

There was neuer any reason to mooue men to thinke, that I could like of such grounds: For there are two qualities principally, or rather priuations that make Kings subiect to flattery; *Credulitie* and *Ignorance*; and I hope none of them can bee iustly obiected to me. For if *Alexander* the great, for all his learning, had bene wise in that point to haue considered the state of his owne naturall body and disposition, he would neuer haue thought himself a god. And now to the matter. As it is a Christian duetie in euery man, *Reddere rationem fidei*, and not to be ashamed to giue an account of his profession before men, and Angels, as oft as occasion shall require: So did I euer hold it a necessity of honour in a iust and wise King, though not to giue an account to his people of his actions, yet

clearely

clearely to deliuer his heart and intention vnto them vpon euery occaſion. But I muſt inuert my order, and begin firſt with that incident which was laſt in my diuiſion (though higheſt of nature) and ſo goe backward.

THe State of MONARCHIE is the ſupremeſt thing vpon earth. For Kings are not onely GODS Lieutenants vpon earth, and ſit vpon GODS throne, but euen by GOD himſelfe they are called Gods. There be three principall ſimilitudes that illuſtrate the ſtate of MONARCHIE: One taken out of the word of GOD; and the two other out of the grounds of Policie and Philoſophie. In the Scriptures Kings are called Gods, and ſo their power after a certaine relation compared to the diuine power. Kings are alſo compared to Fathers of families: for a King is truely *Parens patriæ*, the politique father of his people. And laſtly Kings are compared to the head of this Microcoſme of the body of man.

Kings

Kings are iustly called Gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of Diuine power vpon earth. For if you will consider the Attributes to God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create, or destroy, make, or vnmake at his pleasure, to giue life, or send death, to iudge all, and to be iudged nor accomptable to none: To raise low things, and to make high things lowe at his pleasure, and to God are both soule and body due. And the like power haue Kings: they make and vnmake their subiects: they haue power of raising, and casting downe: of life, and of death: Iudges ouer all their subiects, and in all causes, and yet accomptable to none but God onely. They haue power to exalt low things, and abase high things, and make of their subiects like men at the Chesse; A pawne to take a Bishop or a Knight, and to cry vp, or downe any of their subiects, as they doe their money. And to the King is due both the affection of the soule, and the seruice of the body of his subiects. And there-

fore that reuerend Bishop here amongst you, though I heare that by diuers he was mistaken or not well vnderstood, yet did he preach both learnedly & truely annent this point concerning the power of a King. For what he spake of a Kings power in *Abstracto*, is most true in Diuinitie. For to Emperors, or Kings that are Monarches, their Subiects bodies and goods are due for their defence and maintenance. But if I had bin in his place, I would onely haue added two wordes, which would haue cleared all: For after I had told as a Diuine, what was due by the Subiects to their Kings in generall, I would then haue concluded as an Englishman, shewing this people, That as in generall all Subiects were bound to relieue their King; So to exhort them, that as wee liued in a setled state of a Kingdome which was gouerned by his owne fundamentall Lawes and Orders, that according thereunto, they were now (being assembled for this purpose in Parliament) to consider how to helpe such a King as now they had; And that according

ding

ding to the ancient forme, and order esta-
blished in this Kingdome: putting so, a
difference betweene the generall power of
a King in Diuinity, and the setled and esta-
blished State of this Crowne, and King-
dome. And I am sure that the Bishop
meant to haue done the same, if hee had
not bene straited by time, which in respect
of the greatnesse of the presence preaching
before me, and such an Auditory, he durst
not presume vpon.

As for the Father of a familie, they had
of olde vnder the Law of Nature *Patriam*
potestatem, which was *Potestatem vitæ &*
necis, ouer their children or familie, (I
meane such Fathers of families as were the
lineall heires of those families whereof
Kings did originally come.) For Kings
had their first originall from them, who
planted and spread themselues in *Colonies*
through the world. Now a Father may
dispose of his Inheritance to his children,
at his pleasure: yea, euen disinherite the
eldest vpon iust occasions, and preferre the
youngest, according to his liking: make

them beggers, or rich at his pleasure: restraine, or banish out of his presence, as he findes them giue cause of offence, or restore them in fauour againe with the penitent sinner: So may the King deale with his Subiects.

And lastly, as for the head of the naturall body, the head hath the power of directing all the members of the body to that vse which the iudgement in the head thinkes most conuenient. It may apply sharpe cures, or cut off corrupt members, let blood in what proportion it thinks fit, and as the body may spare, but yet is all this power ordeined by God *Ad edificationem, non ad destructionem.* For although God haue power aswell of destruction, as of creation or maintenance; yet will it not agree with the wisedome of God, to exercise his power in the destruction of nature, & ouerturning the whole frame of things, since his creatures were made, that his glorie might thereby be the better expressed: So were he a foolish father that would disinherite or destroy his children without a

cause, or leaue off the carefull education of them; And it were an idle head that would in place of phisicke so poyson or phlebotomize the body as might breede a dangerous distemper or destruction therof.

But now in these our times wee are to distinguish betweene the state of Kings in their first originall, and betweene the state of setled Kings and Monarches, that doe at this time gouerne in ciuill kingdomes. For euen as God, during the time of the olde Testament, spake by Oracles, and wrought by Miracles; yet how soone it pleased him to settle a *Church* which was bought, and redeemed by the blood of his onely Sonne *Christ*, then was there a cessation of both; He euer after gouerning his people and Church within the limits of his reueiled will. So in the first originall of Kings, whereof some had their beginning by Conqueſt, and some by election of the people, their willes at that time serued for Law; Yet how soone Kingdomes began to be setled in ciuilitie and policie, then did Kings set downe their mindes by Lawes,

which are properly made by the King onely; but at the rogation of the people, the Kings graunt being obteined thereunto. And ſo the King became to be *Lex loquens*, after a ſort, binding himſelfe by a double othe to the obſeruation of the fundamentall Lawes of his kingdome: *Tacitly*, as by being a King, & ſo bound to protect aſwel the people, as the Lawes of his kingdome; And *Expreſly*, by his othe at his Coronation: So as euery iuſt King in a ſetled kingdome is bound to obſerue that paction made to his people by his Lawes, in framing his gouernement agreeable thereunto, according to that paction which God made with *Noe* after the deluge, *Hereafter Seede time, and Harueſt, Cold and Heate, Sommer and Winter, and Day and Night ſhall not ceaſe, ſo long as the earth remaines.* And therefore a King gouerning in a ſetled Kingdome, leaues to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, aſſoone as hee leaues off to Rule according to his Lawes. In which caſe the Kings conſcience may ſpeake vnto him, as the poore widow ſayd

to *Philip* of Macedon; Either gouerne according to your Lawe, *Aut ne Rex sis.* And though no Christian man ought to allow any rebellion of people against their Prince, yet doeth God neuer leaue Kings vnpunished when they transgresse these Limits: For in that same Psalme where God sayth to Kings, *Vos Dij estis*, hee immediatly thereafter concludes, But ye shal die like men. The higher wee are placed, the greater shall our fall be. *Vt casus, sic dolor*: the taller the trees be, the more in danger of the winde; and the tempest beats soreſt vpon the higheſt mountaines. Therefore all Kings that are not tyrants, or periured, will be glad to bound themselues within the limits of their Lawes; and they that perswade them the contrary, are vipers, and pests, both against them and the Commonwealth. For it is a great difference betweene a Kings gouernment in a setled State, and what Kings in their originall power might doe in *Indiuiduo vago.* As for my part, I thanke God, I haue euer giuen good proofe, that I neuer had

had intention to the contrary: And I am sure to goe to my graue with that reputation and comfort, that neuer King was in all his time more careful to haue his Lawes duely obserued, and himselfe to gouerne thereafter, then I.

I conclude then this point touching the power of Kings, with this Axiome of Diuinitie, That as to dispute what God may doe, is Blasphemie; but *quid vult Deus*, that Diuines may lawfully, and doe ordinarily dispute and discusse; for to dispute *A Posse ad Esse* is both against Logicke and Diuinitie: So is it Sedition in Subiects, to dispute what a King may doe in the height of his power: But iust kings will euer be willing to declare what they will doe, if they will not incurre the curse of God. I will not be content that my power be disputed vpon: but I shall euer be willing to make the reason appeare of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my Lawes.

The other branch of this incident is concerning the Common Law, being conceiued

ceiued by ſome, that I contemned it, and preferred the Ciuill Law thereunto: As I haue already ſaid, Kings actions (euen in the ſecreteſt places) are as the actions of thoſe that are ſet vpon the Stages, or on the tops of houſes: and I hope neuer to ſpeake that in priuate, which I ſhall not auow in publique, and print it if need be, (as I ſaid in my *Baſilicon Doron.*) For it is true, that within theſe few dayes I ſpake freely my minde touching the Common Lawe in my Priuie Chamber, at the time of my dinner, which is come to all your eares, and the ſame was likewiſe related vnto you by my Treaſurer; and now I will againe repeate and confirme the ſame my ſelfe vnto you. Firſt, as a King, I haue leaſt cauſe of any man to diſlike the Common Law: For no Law can be more fauourable and aduantagious for a King, and extendeth further his Prerogatiue, then it doeth: And for a King of ENGLAND to deſpiſe the Common Law, it is to neglect his owne Crowne. It is true, that I doe greatly eſteeme the Ciuill Law, the profeſ-

sion thereof seruing more for generall learning, and being most necessarie for matters of Treatie with all forreine Nations: And I thinke that if it should be taken away, it would make an entrie to Barbarisme in this Kingdome, and would blemish the honour of ENGLAND: For it is in a manner *Lex Gentium*, and maintaineth Intercourse with all forreine Nations: but I only allow it to haue course here according to those limits of Iurisdiction, which the Common law it selfe doth allow it. And therfore though it be not fit for the generall gouernement of the people here; it doth not follow, it should be extinct, no more, then because the Latin tongue is not the Mother or Radicall language of any Nation in the world at this time, that therfore the English tongue should onely now bee learned in this Kingdome, which were to bring in Barbarisme. My meaning therefore is not, to preferre the Ciuil Law before the Common Law; but onely that it should not be extinguished, and yet so bounded, (I meane to such Courts and Causes)

Cauſes) as haue bin in ancient vſe; As the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, Court of Admiralty, Court of Requeſts, and ſuch like, referuing euer to the Common Law to meddle with the fundamental Lawes of this Kingdome, either concerning the Kings Prerogatiue, or the poſſeſsions of Subiects, in any queſtions, either betweene the king, and any of them, or amongſt themſelues, in the points of *Meum & tuum*. For it is true, that there is no kingdome in the world, not onely Scotland, but not France, nor Spaine, nor any other kingdome gouerned meerely by the Ciuill Law, but euery one of them hath their owne municipall Lawes agreeable to their Cuſtomes, as this kingdome hath the Common Law: Nay, I am ſo farre from diſallowing the Common Law, as I proteſt, that if it were in my hand to chuſe a new Law for this kingdome, I would not onely preferre it before any other Nationall Law, but euen before the very Iudiciall Law of *Moyſes*: and yet I ſpeake no blaſphemy in preferring it for conueniencie to this kingdome, and at

this time, to the very Law of God: For God gouerned his selected people by these three Lawes, *Ceremoniall, Morall*, and *Iudiciall*: The *Iudiciall*, being onely fit for a certaine people, and a certaine time, which could not serue for the generall of all other people and times. As for example, If the Law of hanging for Theft, were turned here to restitution of treble or quadruple, as it was in the Law of *Moyses*, what would become of all the middle Shires, and all the Irishrie and Highlanders? But the maine point is, That if the fundamentall Lawes of any Kingdome should be altered, who should discerne what is *Meum, & tuum*, or how should a King gouerne? It would be like the *Gregorian* Calender, which destroyes the old, and yet doeth this new trouble all the debts and Accompts of Traffickes and Merchandizes: Nay by that accompt I can neuer tell mine owne age; for now is my Birth-day remooued by the space of ten dayes neerer me then it was before the change. But vpon the other part,

though

though I haue in one point preferred our Common Law, concerning our vse, to the very Law of God; yet in another respect I must say, both our Law and all Lawes else are farre inferiour to that Iudiciall Lawe of God; for no booke nor Law is perfect nor free from corruption, except onely the booke and Law of God. And therefore I could wish some three things specially to be purged and cleared in the Common Law; but alwayes by the aduise of Parliament: For the King with his Parliament here are absolute, (as I vnderstand) in making or forming of any sort of Lawes.

First I could wish that it were written in our vulgar language: for now it is in an old, mixt, and corrupt language, onely vnderstood by Lawyers; whereas euery Subiect ought to vnderstand the Law vnder which he liues: For since it is our plea against the Papists, that the language in Gods seruice ought not to bee in an vnknowen tongue, according to the rule in the law of *Moyses*, That the Law should bee written in the

fringes of the Priests garment, and should be publikely read in the eares of all the people: so me thinkes ought our Law to be made as plaine as can be to the people, that the excuse of ignorance may be taken from them, for conforming themselues thereunto.

Next, our Common Law hath not a settled Text in all Cases, being chiefly grounded either vpon old Customes, or els vpon the Reports and Cases of Iudges, which ye call *Responsa Prudentum.* The like whereof is in all other Lawes: for they are much ruled by Presidents (saue onely in *Denmarke* and *Norway*, where the letter of the Law resolues all doubts without any trouble to the Iudge,) But though it be true, that no Text of Law can be so certaine, wherein the circumstances will not make a variation in the Case, (for in this age, mens wits increase so much by ciuilitie, that the circumstances of euery particuler case varies so much from the generall Text of Law, as in the Ciuill Law it selfe, there are therefore so many Doctors that

comment vpon the Text, and neuer a one almost agrees with another; Otherwise there needed no Iudges, but the bare letter of the Law.) Yet could I wish that some more certaintie were set downe in this case by Parliament: for since the very Reports themselues are not alwayes so binding, but that diuers times Iudges doe disclaime them, and recede from the iudgement of their predecessors; it were good, that vpon a mature deliberation, the exposition of the Law were set downe by act of Parliament, and such reports therein confirmed, as were thought fit to serue for Law in all times hereafter, and so the people should not depend vpon the bare opinions of Iudges, and vncertaine Reports.

And lastly, there be in the Common Law diuers contrary Reports, and Presidents: and this corruption doeth likewise concerne the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, in respect there are diuers crosse and cuffing Statutes, and some so penned, as they may be taken in diuers, yea contrary sences. And therefore would I wish both

those

thoſe Statutes and Reports, aſwell in the Parliament as Common Law, to be once maturely reuiewed, and reconciled; And that not onely all contrarieties ſhould be ſcraped out of our Bookes, but euen that ſuch penall Statutes as were made, but for the vſe of the time (from breach whereof no man can be free) which doe not now agree with the condition of this our time, might likewiſe be left out of our bookes, which vnder a tyrannous or auaritious King could not be endured. And this reformation might (me thinkes) be made a worthy worke, and well deſerues a Parliament to be ſet of purpoſe for it.

I know now that being vpon this point of the Common Law, you looke to heare my opinion concerning Prohibitions; and I am not ignorant that I haue bin thought to be an enemie to all Prohibitions, and an vtter ſtayer of them. But I wil ſhortly now informe you what hath bene my courſe in proceeding therein. It is true that in reſpect of diuers honorable Courts, and Iuriſdictions planted in this Kingdome, I

haue

haue often wished that euery Court had his owne true limit, and iurisdiction clearly set downe, and certainly knowen; which if it be exceeded by any of them, or that any of them encroch one vpon another, then I grant that a Prohibition in that case is to goe out of the *Kings Bench*, but chiefliest out of the *Chancery*; for other Benches I am not yet so well resolued of their Iurisdiction in that point. And for my part, I was neuer against Prohibitions of this nature, nor the true vse of them, which is indeed to keep euery Riuer within his owne bankes and channels. But when I saw the swelling and ouerflowing of Prohibitions in a farre greater abundance then euer before, euery Court striuing to bring in most moulture to their owne Mill, by multitudes of Causes, which is a disease very natural to all Courts and Iurisdictions in the world; Then dealt I with this Cause, and that at two seuerall times, once in the middest of Winter, and againe in the middest of the next following Summer; At euery of which times I spent three

whole dayes in that labour. And then after a large hearing, I tolde them as *Christ* said concerning Marriage, *Ab initio non fuit sic*. For as God conteines the Sea within his owne bounds, and marches (as it is in the *Psalmes*) So is it my office to make euery Court conteine himselfe within his owne limits; And therefore I gaue admonitions to both sides: To the other Courts, that they should be carefull hereafter euery of them, to conteine themselues within the bounds of their owne Iurisdictions; and to the Courts of Common Law, that they should not be so forward, and prodigall in multiplying their Prohibitions. Two cautions I willed them to obserue in graunting their Prohibitions: First, that they should bee graunted in a right and lawfull forme: And next, that they should not grant them, but vpon a iust and reasonable cause. As to the forme, it was, that none should be granted by any one particuler Iudge, or in time of Vacation, or in any other place, but openly in Court. And to this the Iudges themselues gaue their

willing assent. And as to the Cause, That they should not be granted vpon euery sleight surmise, or information of the party, but alwayes that a due and graue examination should first preceed. Otherwise if Prohibitions should rashly, and headily be granted, then no man is the more secure of his owne, though he hath gotten a sentence with him: For as good haue no Law, or Sentence, as to haue no execution thereof. A poore Minister with much labour and expense, hauing exhausted his poore meanes, and being forced to forbeare his study, and to become *non resident* from his flocke, obtaines a *Sentence*, and then when hee lookes to enioy the fruits thereof, he is defrauded of all by a *Prohibition*, according to the parable of Christ, That night when he thinkes himselfe most happy, shall his soule be taken from him: And so is he tortured like *Tantalus*, who when he hath the Apple at his mouth, and that he is gaping and opening his mouth to receiue it, then must it be pulled from him by a *Prohibition*, and hee

not suffered to taste thereof. So as to conclude this point, I put a difference between the true vse of Prohibitions, and the superabounding abuse therof: for as a thing which is good, ought not therefore be abused; so ought not the lawfull vse of a good thing be forborne, because of the abuse thereof.

NOw the second general ground whereof I am to speake, concernes the matter of *Grieuances*: There are two speciall causes of the peoples presenting grieuances to their King in time of Parliament. First, for that the King cannot at other times be so well informed of all the grieuances of his people, as in time of Parliament, which is the representatiue body of the whole Realme. Secondly, the Parliament is the highest Court of Iustice, and therefore the fittest place where diuers natures of grieuances may haue their proper remedie, by the establishment of good and wholsome Lawes. But though my Speech was before directed to the whole Body of Parliament; yet in this case I must

addreſſe my Speech in ſpeciall to you of the Lower Houſe.

I am now then to recommend vnto your conſiderations the matter and manner of your handling and preſenting of grieuances. As for the manner, though I will not denie, but that yee, repreſenting the Body of the people, may as it were both *oppartune* and *inopportune* (I meane either in Parliament as a Body, or out of Parliament as priuate men) preſent your grieuances vnto mee; yet would I haue you to vſe this caution in your behauiour in this point: which is, that your grieuances be not as it were greedily ſought out by you, or taken vp in the ſtreets (as one ſaid) thereby to ſhewe a willingneſſe that you would haue a ſhewe made, that there are many abuſes in the gouernment, and many cauſes of complaint: but that according to your firſt inſtitution, yee ſhould only meddle with ſuch grieuances, as your ſelues do know had need of reformation, or had informations thereof in your countreys for which you ſerue, and not ſo to multi-

multiply them, as might make it noised amongst the people, that all things in the gouernment were amisse and out of frame. For euen at the beginning of this very Session of Parliament, the generall name of grieuances being mentioned among you, such a conceipt came in the heads of many, that you had a desire to multiply and make a great muster of them, as euery one exhibited what his particular spleene stirred him vnto. Indeede there fell out an accident vpon this occasion; for which I haue reason to thanke you of the Lower house, I meane for your fire worke; wherein I confesse you did Honour to me, and right to your selues. For hauing one afternoone found many grieuances closely presented in papers, and so all thrust vp in a sacke together, (rather like *Pasquils*, then any lawfull Complaints) farre against your owne Orders, and diuers of them proceeding from grudging and murmuring spirits; you, vpon the hearing read two or three of the first lines of diuers of them, were not content with a publique consent to

condemne them, and to discharge any further reading of them, but you also made a publique bonefire of them. In this, I say, you shewed your care and iealousie of my Honour, and I sent you thankes for it by the Chancellour of the Exchequer, a member of your owne house, who by your appointment, that same night acquainted me with your proceedings; And by him also I promised at that time, that you should heare more of my thanks for the same at the first occasion; And now I tell you it my selfe, that you may know how kindely I take your dutifull behauiour in this case. But since this was a good effect of an ill cause, I must not omit also to admonish you vpon the other part, to take a course amongst your selues, to preuent the like accident in all times hereafter: otherwise the Lower house may become a place for *Pasquils*, and at another time such griefuances may be cast in amongst you, as may conteine Treason or scandal against Me, or my Posteritie. Therefore in this case, looke ouer your ancient Orders, and follow

low them, and suffer not hereafter any petitions or grieuances to be deliuered obscurely or in the darke, but openly and avowedly in your Publique house, and there to be presented to the Speaker. And as to the matter of your Grieuances, I wish you here now to vnderstand me rightly. And because I see many writing and noting, I will craue your pardons, to holde you a little longer by speaking the more distinctly, for feare of mistaking.

First then, I am not to finde fault that you informe your selues of the particular iust Grieuances of the people; Nay, I must tell you, ye can neither be iust nor faithfull to me, or to your Countries that trust and imploy you, if you doe it not. For true Plaints proceede not from the persons imployed, but from the Body represented, which is the people. And it may very well be, that many Directions and Commissions iustly giuen forth by me, may be abused in the Execution thereof, vpon the people: and yet I neuer to receiue information, except it come by your meanes, at such

a time

a time as this is; (as in the case of *Stephen Procter.*) But I would wish you to be carefull to auoide three things in the matter of Grieuances.

First, that you doe not meddle with the maine points of Gouernment; that is my craft: *tractent fabrilia fabri*; to meddle with that, were to lesson me: I am now an old King; for sixe and thirty yeres haue I gouerned in *Scotland* personally, & now haue I accomplished my apprenticeship of seuen yeeres here; and seuen yeeres is a great time for a kings experience in Gouernment: Therefore there would not be too many *Phormios* to teach *Hannibal*: I must not be taught my Office.

Secondly, I would not haue you meddle with such ancient Rights of mine, as I haue receiued from my Predecessors, possessing them, *More Maiorum*: such things I would be sorie should be accounted for grieuances. All noueltie are dangerous as well in a politique as in a naturall Body. And therfore I would be loth to bee quarrelled in my ancient rights and possessi-

ons: for that were to iudge me vnworthy of that which my Predecessors had, and left me.

And lastly, I pray you beware to exhibite for grieuance any thing that is established by a setled Law, and whereunto (as you haue already had a proofe) you know I will neuer giue a plausible answere: For it is an vndutifull part in Subiects to presse their King, wherein they know beforehand hee will refuse them. Now, if any Law or Statute be not conuenient, let it be amended by Parliament, but in the meane time terme it not a grieuance: for to bee grieued with the Law, is to be grieued with the King, who is sworne to be the Patron and mainteiner thereof. But as all men are flesh, and may erre in the execution of Lawes; So may ye iustly make a grieuance of any abuse of the Law, distinguishing wisely betweene the faults of the person, and the thing it selfe. As for example, Complaints may be made vnto you of the high Commissioners: If so be, try the abuse, and spare not to complaine vpon it,

but say not there shall be no Commission; For that were to abridge the power that is in me: and I will plainely tell you, That something I haue with my selfe resolued annent that point, which I meane euer to keepe, except I see other great cause: which is, That in regard the high Commission is of so high a nature, from which there is no appellation to any other Court, I haue thought good to restraine it onely to the two Archbishops, where before it was common amongst a great part of the Bishops in England. This Law I haue set to my selfe, and therefore you may be assured, that I will neuer finde fault with any man, nor thinke him the more Puritane, that will complaine to me out of Parliament, aswell as in Parliament, of any error in execution thereof, so that he prooue it; Otherwise it were but a calumnie. Onely I would be loth that any man should grieue at the Commission it selfe, as I haue already said. Ye haue heard (I am sure) of the paines I tooke both in the causes of the Admiralty, and of the Prohibitions: If

any man therefore will bring mee any iuſt complaints vpon any matters of ſo high a nature as this is, ye may aſſure your ſelues that I will not ſpare my labour in hearing it. In faith you neuer had a more painefull King, or that will be readier in his perſon to determine cauſes that are fit for his hearing. And when euer any of you ſhall make experience of me in this point, yee may be ſure neuer to want acceſſe, nor ye ſhall neuer come wrong to mee, in, or out of Parliament.

And now to conclude this purpoſe of Grieuances, I haue one generall grieuance to commend vnto you, and that in the behalfe of the Countreys from whence ye come. And this is, to pray you to beware that your Grieuances fauour not of particularmens thoughts, but of the generall griefes riſing out of the mindes of the people, and not out of the humor of the propounder. And therefore I would wiſh you to take heede carefully, and conſider of the partie that propounds the grieuance: for ye may (if ye liſt) eaſily

diſcerne

diſcerne whether it be his owne paſsion, or the peoples griefe, that makes him to ſpeake: for many a man will in your houſe propound a Grieuance out of his owne humour, becauſe (peraduenture) hee accounts highly of that matter: and yet the countrey that imployes him, may perhaps either be of a contrary minde, or (at leaſt) little care for it. As for example, I aſſure you, I can very well ſmell betweene a Petition that mooues from a generall Grieuance, or ſuch a one as comes from the ſpleene of ſome particular perſon, either againſt Eccleſiaſticall gouernment in generall, or the perſon of any one Noble man, or Commiſsioner in particular.

AND now the third point remaines to be ſpoken of; which is the cauſe of my calling of this Parliament. And in this I haue done but as I vſe to doe in all my life, which is to leaue mine owne errand hindmoſt.

It may be you did wonder that I did not ſpeake vnto you publikely at the beginning

ginning of this Sessions of Parliament, to tell you the cause of your calling, as I did (if I be rightly remembred) in euery Session before. But the trueth is, that because I call you at this time for my particular Errand, I thought it fitter to be opened vnto you by my Treasurer, who is my publike and most principall Officer in matters of that nature, then that I should doe it my selfe: for I confesse I am lesse naturally eloquent, and haue greater cause to distrust mine elocution in matters of this nature, then in any other thing. I haue made my Treasurer already to giue you a very cleere and true accompt both of my hauing, and expenses: A fauour I confesse, that Kings doe seldome bestow vpon their Subiects, in making them so particularly acquainted with their state. If I had not more then cause, you may be sure I would be loth to trouble you. But what hee hath affirmed in this, vpon the honour of a Gentleman, (whom you neuer had cause to distrust for his honestie) that doe I now confirme and auow to be true in the word and honour

of a King: And therein you are bound to beleeue me. Duety I may iustly claime of you as my Subiects; and one of the branches of duety which Subiects owe to their Soueraigne, is Supply: but in what quantitie, and at what time, that must come of your loues. I am not now therfore to dispute of a Kings power, but to tell you what I may iustly craue, and expect with your good wills. I was euer against all extremes; and in this case I will likewise wish you to auoid them on both sides. For if you faile in the one, I might haue great cause to blame you as Parliament men, being called by me for my Errands: And if you fall into the other extreme, by supply of my necessities without respectiue care to auoid oppression or partialitie in the Leuie, both I and the Countrey will haue cause to blame you.

When I thinke vpon the composition of this body of Parliament, I doe well consider that the Vpper house is composed of the Seculer Nobilitie, who are hereditary Lords of Parliament; and of Bishops, that

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are liue Renter Barons of the same: And therefore what is giuen by the Vpper-house, is giuen onely from the true body of that House, and out of their owne purses that doe giue it; whereas the Lower-house is but the representatiue body of the Commons, and so what you giue, you giue it aswell for others, as for your selues: and therefore you haue the more reason to eschew both the extreames. On the one part, yee may the more easily be liberall, since it comes not all from your selues; and yet vpon the other part, if yee giue more then is fit for good and louing Subiects to yeeld vpon such necessary occasions, ye abuse the King, and hurt the people; And such a gift I will neuer accept: For in such a case you might deceiue a King, in giuing your flattering consent to that which you know might mooue the people generally to grudge and murmure at it, & so should the King finde himselfe deceiued in his *Calcule*, and the people likewise grieued in their hearts; the loue and possession of which (I protest) I did, and euer will ac-

compt

compt the greatest earthly securitie (next the fauour of God) to any wise or iust King. For though it was vainely said by one of your House, That ye had need to beware, that by giuing me too much, your throats were not in danger of cutting at your comming home; yet may ye assure your selues, that I will euer be lothe to presse you to doe that which may wrong the people, and make you iustly to beare the blame thereof. But that ye may the better be acquainted with my inclination, I will appeale to a number of my Priuie Councell here present, if that before the calling of this Parliament, & when I found that the necessitie of my estate required so great a supply, they found me more desirous to obtaine that which I was forced to seeke, then carefull that the people might yeeld me a supply in so great a measure as my necessities required, without their too great losse. And you all that are Parliamentmen, & there present of both Houses can beare me witnesse, if euer I burthened or imployed any of you for any particular

Subsidies, or summes by name, further then my laying open the particular necessities of my state, or yet if euer I spake to any Priuie Councellour, or any of my learned Councell, to labour voyces for me to this end; I euer detested the hunting for *Emendicata Suffragia*. A King that will rule and gouerne iustly, must haue regard to Conscience, Honour and Iudgement, in all his great Actions, (as your selfe M. Speaker remembred the other day.) And therefore ye may assure your selues, That I euer limit all my great Actions within that compasse. But as vpon the one side, I doe not desire you should yeeld to that extreame, in giuing mee more then (as I said formerly) vpon such necessary occasions are fit for good and louing Subiects to yeeld; For that were to giue me a purse with a knife: So on the other side, I hope you will not make vain pretences of wants, out of causeless apprehensions, or idle excuses, neither cloake your owne humours (when your selues are vnwilling) by alledging the pouertie of the people. For al-

though

though I will be no lesse iust, as a King, to such persons, then any other: (For my Iustice with Gods grace, shalbe alike open to all) yet ye must thinke I haue no reason to thanke them, or gratifie them with any suits or matters of grace, when their arraud shall come in my way; And yet no man can say, that euer I quarrelled any man for refusing mee a Subsidie, if he did it in a moderate fashion, and with good reasons. For him that denies a good Law, I will not spare to quarrell: But for graunting or denying money, it is but an effect of loue: And therefore for the point of my necessities, I onely desire that I be not refused in that which of duety I ought to haue. For I know if it were propounded in the generall amongst you, whether the Kings wants ought to bee relieued or not, there is not one of you, that would make question of it. And though in a sort this may seeme to be my particular; yet it cannot be diuided from the generall good of the Common wealth; For the King that is *Parens Patriæ*, telles you of his

his wants. Nay, *Patria ipsa* by him speakes vnto you. For if the King want, the State wants, and therefore the strengthening of the King is the preseruation and the standing of the State; And woe be to him that diuides the weale of the King from the weale of the Kingdome. And as that king is miserable (how rich soeuer he be) that reignes ouer a poore people, (for the hearts and riches of the people, are the Kings greatest treasure;) So is that Kingdome not able to subsist, how rich and potent soeuer the people bee, if their King wants meanes to mainteine his State: for the meanes of your King are the Sinewes of the Kingdom both in warre and peace: for in peace I must minister iustice vnto you, and in warre I must defend you by Armes: but neither of these can I do without sufficient meanes, which must come from your Aide and Supply. I confesse it is farre against my nature to bee burthensome to my people: for it cannot but grieue mee to craue of others, that was borne to be begged of. It is true, I craue

more

more then euer King of England did, but I haue farre greater and iuſter cauſe and reaſon to craue, then euer King of England had. And though my Treaſurer hath at length declared the reaſons vnto you of my neceſsities, and of a large ſupply that he craued for the ſame, wherein he omitted no arguments that can be vſed for that purpoſe; yet will I my ſelfe now ſhortly remember you ſome of the weightieſt reaſons that come in my head, to proue the equitie of my demaund.

Firſt, ye all know, that by the acceſſion of more Crownes, which in my Perſon I haue brought vnto you, my charge muſt be the greater in all reaſon: For the greater your King be, both in his dominion and number of Subiects, he cannot but be forced thereby to be at the more charge, and it is the more your honour, ſo to haue it.

Next, that poſteritie and iſſue which it hath pleaſed God to ſend me for your vſe, cannot but bring neceſſarily with it a greater proportion of charge. You all know

that the late Queene of famous memory (notwithstanding her orbitie) had much giuen vnto her, and more then euer any of her predeceſſors had before her.

Thirdly, the time of creation of my Sonne doeth now draw neere, which I chuſe for the greater honour to be done in this time of Parliament. As for him I ſay no more; the ſight of himſelfe here ſpeakes for him.

Fourthly, it is true I haue ſpent much; but yet if I had ſpared any of thoſe things, which cauſed a great part of my expenſe, I ſhould haue diſhonored the kingdome, my ſelfe, and the late Queene. Should I haue ſpared the funerall of the late Queene? or the ſolemnitie of mine and my wiues entrie into this Kingdome, in ſome honourable ſort? or ſhould I haue ſpared our entrie into *London*, or our Coronation? And when moſt of the Monarches, and great Princes in Chriſtendome ſent their Ambaſſadours to congratulate my comming hither, and ſome of them came in perſon, was I not bound,

both for my owne honour, and the honor of the Kingdome, to giue them good entertainment: But in case it might bee obiected by some, that it is onely vpon occasions of warre, that Kings obtaine great Supplies from their Subiects: notwithstanding my interne Peace, I am yet in a kinde of warre, which if it bee without, the more is your safetie: For (as the Treasurer tolde you at large) I am now forced both in respects of State, and my promise, and for the generall cause of Religion, to send a Supply of forces to *Cleues*, and how long that occasion may last, or what greater supply the necessitie of that Errand may draw me vnto, no man can yet tell. Besides that, although I haue put downe that forme of warlike keeping of *Barwicke*, yet are all those commaunders my pensioners that were the late Queenes souldiers. And I hope I sustaine a prettie Seminarie of souldiers in my Forts within this Kingdome, besides the two cautionarie Townes in the Low countries, *Flushing* and *Brill*. And as for *Ireland*, yee all know

know how vncertaine my charges are euer there, that people being so easily stirred, partly through their barbaritie, and want of ciuilitie, and partly through their corruption in Religion to breake forth in Rebellions. Yee know, how vnlooked for a Rebellion brake forth there the last yeere, which could not but put mee to extraordinary charges. Besides, I doe maintaine there continually an Armie, which is a goodly Seminarie of expert and old Souldiers. And I dare neuer suffer the same to be diminished, till this Plantation take effect, which (no doubt) is the greatest moate that euer came in the Rebels eyes: and it is to be looked for, that if euer they will be able to make any stirre, they will prosse at it by all meanes, for the preuenting and discouraging this Plantation. Now if is true, that besides all these honourable and necessary occasions of my charge, I haue spent much in liberalitie: but yet I hope you will consider, that what I haue giuen, hath beene giuen amongst you, and so what comes in from you, goes

out againe amongſt you. But it may be thought that I haue giuen much amongſt Scottiſhmen. Indeed if I had not beene liberall in rewarding ſome of my olde ſeruants of that Nation, ye could neuer haue had reaſon to expect my thankefulneſſe towards any of you that are more lately become my Subiects, if I had been ingrate to the olde: And yet yee will finde, that I haue dealt twiſe as much amongſt Engliſh men as I haue done to Scottiſhmen. And therefore he that in your Houſe was not aſhamed to affirme, that the ſiluer and gold did ſo abound in *Edenburgh*, was very farre miſtaken; but I wiſh him no worſe puniſhment, then that he ſhould only liue vpon ſuch profite of the money there. But I hope you will neuer miſlike me for my liberalitie, ſince I can looke very few of you this day in the face, that haue not made ſuites to me, at leaſt for ſome thing, either of honour or profit. It is true, a Kings liberality muſt neuer be dried vp altogether: for then he can neuer maintaine nor oblige

lige his seruants and well deseruing Subiects. But that vasteneſſe of my expence is past, which I vsed the first two or three yeeres after my comming hither: And, as I oft vsed to say, that Christmas and open tide is ended. For at my first cõming here, partly ignorance of this State (which no man can acquire but by time and experience) & partly the forme of my comming being so honorable and miraculous, enforced me to extend my liberalitie so much the more at the beginning. Ye saw I made Knights then by hundreths, and Barons in great numbers: but I hope you finde I doe not so now, nor minde not to doe so hereafter. For to conclude this point anent expences, I hold that a Kings expence must alwayes be honourable, though not wastefull, and the charges of your King in maintaining those ancient honourable formes of liuing that the former Kings of England my predeceſſors haue done, and his liuing to bee ruled according to the proportion of his greatneſſe, is aswell

for

for the honor of your kingdom, as of your King. Now this cannot be supplied out of the aire or liquid elements, but must come from the people. And for remouing of that diffidence which men may haue, that I mind not to liue in any wastefull sort hereafter, will you but looke vpon my selfe and my posteritie; and if there were no more but that, it will teach you that if I were but a naturall man, I must needs be carefull of my expences. For as for my owne person, I hope none that knowes mee well, can thinke me but as little inclined to any prodigall humours of vnnecessarie things, as any other reasonable man of a farre meaner estate. Therefore since (as I haue said) I cannot be helped but from the people; I assure my selfe that you will well allow me such measure of Supply, as the people may beare, and support him with more Honourable means then others haue had, that (as I may say without vaunting) hath brought you more Honour then euer you had. For I hope there are no good Sub-

iects either within, or out of the Parliament House, that would not be content for setting streight once and for ling the Honourable State of their King, to spare so much euery one of them out of their purses, which peraduenture they would in one night throw away at Dice or Cards, or bestow vpon a horse for their fancies, that might breake his necke or his legge the next morning: Nay I am sure euery good Subiect would rather choose to liue more sparingly vpon his owne, then that his Kings State should be in want.

For conclusion then of this purpose, I wish you now to put a speedie ende to (your busines.) Freenesse in giuing graceth the gift, *Bis dat, qui citò dat*; The longer I want helpe, the greater will my debt still rise: and so must I looke for the greater helpes. And now I would pray you to turne your eyes with mee from home, and looke vpon forraine States. Consider that the eyes of all forraine States are vpon this affaire, and in expectation what the

succeſſe thereof will bee; And what can they thinke, if ye depart without relieuing me in that proportion that may make me able to maintaine my State, but that either ye are vnwilling to helpe me, thinking me vnworthy thereof, or at leaſt that my State is ſo deſperate, as it cannot be repaired, and ſo that the Parliament parts in diſgrace with the King, and the King in diſtaſt with the Parliament, which cannot but weaken my reputation both at home, and abroad? For of this you may be aſſured, that forraine Princes care the more one for an other, if they may haue reaſon to expect that they may bee able to doe them good or harme in Retribution. And ye know, that if a King fall to be contemned with his neighbours, that cannot but bring an oppreſsion and warre by them vpon him, and then will it be too late to ſupport the King, when the cure is almoſt deſperate. Things foreſeene and preuented, are euer eaſieſt remedied: And therefore I would aduiſe you now ſo to ſettle

your buſineſſe, as ye may not take in hand ſo many things at once, as may both croſſe my errand, and euery one of them croſſe another. Ye remember the French Prouerbe, *Qui trop embraſſe, rien eſtreint*; We are not in this Parliament to make our Teſtament, as if we ſhould neuer meet againe, and that all things that were to be done in any Parliament, were to be done at this time: and yet for filling vp of your vacant houres, I will recommend to your conſideration ſuch nature of things, as are to be ſpecially thought vpon in theſe times. Firſt I will beginne at GOD: for the beginning with him makes all other actions to be bleſſed: And this I meane by the cauſe of Religion. Next I will ſpeake of ſome things that concernes the Commonwealth. And thirdly, matters of Pleaſure and ornament to the kingdome.

As for Religion, we haue all great cauſe to take heed vnto it; Papiſts are waxed as proud at this time as euer they were, which

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makes many to thinke they haue some newe Plot in hand. And although the poorest sort of them be (God be thanked) much decreased, yet doeth the greater sort of them daily increase, especially among the foeminine Sexe; nay they are waxed so proud, that some say, no man dare present them, nor Iudges meddle with them, they are so backed and vpholden by diuers great Courtiers. It is a surer and better way to remooue the materials of fire before they bee kindled, then to quench the fire when once it is kindled.

Nam leuius lædit quicquid præuidimus antè.

I doe not meane by this to mooue you to make stronger Lawes then are alreadie made, but see those Lawes may be well executed that are in force; otherwise they cannot but fall into contempt and become rustie. I neuer found, that blood and too much seueritie did good in matters of Religion: for, besides that it is a sure rule in Diuinitie, that God neuer loues to plant

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his Church by violence and bloodshed; naturall reason may euen perswade vs, and daily experience prooues it true, That when men are seuerely persecuted for Religion, the gallantnesse of many mens spirits, and the wilfulnesse of their humors, rather then the iustnesse of the cause, makes them to take a pride boldly to endure any torments, or death it selfe, to gaine thereby the reputation of Martyrdome, though but in a false shadow.

Some doubts haue beene conceiued anent the vsing of the Oath of Allegiance, and that part of the Acte which ordaines the taking thereof, is thought so obscure, that no man can tel who ought to be prest fed therewith. For I my selfe, when vpon a time I called the Iudges before mee at their going to their Circuits, I moued this question vnto them; wherein, as I thought they could not resolutely answere mee: And therefore if there be any scruple touching the ministring of it, I would wish it now to be cleared. And since I haue with

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my owne pen brought the Popes quarell vpon me, and proclaimed publique defiance to *Babylon* in maintaining it: should it now sleepe, and should I seeme (as it were) to steale from it againe?

As for Recusants, let them be all duely presented without exception: for in times past there hath bene too great a connivence, and forbearing of them, especially of great mens wives, and their kinne and followers. None ought to be spared from being brought vnder the danger of Law, and then it is my part to vse Mercie, as I thinke conuenient. To wincke at faults, and not to suffer them to be discouered, is no Honour, nor Mercy in a King, neither is he euer thanked for it, It onely argues his dulnesse: But to forgiue faults after they are confessed, or tried, is Mercy. And now I must turne me in this case to you my Lords the Bishops, and euen exhort you earnestly to be more carefull, then you haue bene, that your Officers may more duely present Recusants, then heretofore

they haue done, without exception of persons; That although it must be the worke of GOD that must make their mindes to be altered, yet at least by this course they may be stayed from encreasing, or insulting vpon vs.

And that ye all may know the trueth of my heart in this case, I diuide all my Subiects that are Papists, into two rankes: either olde Papists that were so brought vp in times of Poperie, like old Queene *Mary* Priestes, and those, that though they bee yonger in yeeres, yet haue neuer drunke in other milke, but bene still nusled in that blindnesse: Or else such as doe become Apostats, hauing once bene of our Profession, and haue forsaken the Trueth, either vpon discontent, or practise, or else vpon a light vaine humour of Noueltie, making no more scruple to seeke out new formes of Religion, then if it were but a new forme of Garment, or a new cut or courtsey after the French fashion.

For the former sort, I pitie them; but if they bee good and quiet Subiects, I hate not their persons; and if I were a priuate man, I could well keepe a ciuill friendship and conuersation with some of them. But as for those Apostates, who I know must bee greatest haters of their owne sect, I confesse I can neuer shew any fauourable countenance towards them, and they may all of them be sure without exception, that they shall neuer finde any more fauour of mee, further then I must needes in Iustice afford them. And these would I haue the Law to strike seuerelyest vpon, and you carefullest to discouer. Yee know there hath bene great store kept for begging Concealements these yeares past; and I pray you let me begge this concealement both of the Bishops, and Iudges, That Papists be no longer concealed.

Next, as concerning the Common wealth, I doe specially recommend vnto you the framing of some new Statute for preseruation of woods. In the end of the

last Session of Parliament, ye had a Bill amongst you of that subiect; but because you found some faults therein, you cast out the whole Bill. But I could haue rather wished that ye had either mended it, or made a new one; For to cast out the whole Bill because of some faults, was euen as if a man, that had a newe garment brought him, would chuse rather to goe naked, then haue his garment made fit for him. But on my conscience, I cannot imagine why you should so lightly haue esteemed a thing, so necessary for the Common wealth, if it were not out of a litle frowardnesse amongst you at that time, that what I then recommended earnestly vnto you, it was the worse liked of. The maintenance of woods is a thing so necessary for this Kingdome, as it cannot stand, nor be a Kingdome without it. For it concernes you both in your *Esse*, *Bene esse*, and in pleasures. Your *Esse*: for without it you want the vse of one of the most necessarie Elements (which is Fire and fewell to

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dreſſe your meate with; for neither can the people liue in theſe colde Countries, if they want fire altogether, nor yet can you dreſſe your meate without it; and I thinke you will ill liue like the Cannibals vpon raw fleſh: for the education of this people is farre from that. As to your *bene eſſe*; The decay of woods will neceſſarily bring the decay of Shipping, which both is the ſecurity of this Kingdome, ſince God hath by nature made the Sea to be the wall of this Iland; and the rather now, ſince God hath vnited it all in my Perſon and Crowne; As alſo by the decay of Shipping will you looſe both all your forraine commodities that are fit for this countrey, and the venting of our owne, which is the loſſe of Trade, that is a maine pillar of this kingdome. And as for Pleaſure, ye know my delight in Hunting and Hawking, and many of your ſelues are of the ſame mind; and all this muſt needes decay, by the decay of Woods. Ye haue reaſon therefore to prouide a good Law vpon this Subiect.

Now as to the last point concerning matters of Pleasure, it consists in the preseruing of Game, which is now almost vtterly destroyed through all the Kingdome. And if you offer not now a better Law for this, then was made in the last Session of Parliament, I will neuer thanke you for it. For as for your Law anent Partridge and Fesant, you haue giuen leaue to euery man how poore a Farmour that euer he be, to take and destroy them in his owne ground how he list. But I pray you, how can the Game be maintained, if Gentlemen that haue great Lordships shall breed and preserue them there, and so soone as euer they shall but flie ouer the hedge and light in a poore fellowes Close, they shall all be destroyed? Surely I know no remedie for preseruing the Game that breedes in my grounds, except I cast a roofe ouer all the ground, or else put veruels to the Partridges feet with my Armes vpon them, as my Hawkes haue; otherwise I know not how they shall be knowen to be the Kings Partridges,

tridges, when they light in a Farmours Cloſe.

And by your Lawe againſt ſtealing of Deere or Conies, after a long diſcourſe and prohibition of ſtealing them, you conclude in the end with a reſtriction, that all this puniſhment ſhall be vnderſtood to be vſed againſt them that ſteale the Game in the night: Which hath much encouraged all the looſer ſort of people, that it is no fault to ſteale Deere, ſo they doe it not like theeues in the night. As was that Law of the *Lacedemonians* againſt theft, that did not forbid theft, but onely taught them to doe it cunningly, and without diſcouerie. Whereupon a fooliſh boy ſuffered a Foxe to gnaw his heart through his breaſt. And this doctrine is like that Leſſon of the Cannon Law, *Si non caſte, tamen caute*. I know you thinke that I ſpeake partially in this caſe like a Hunter; But there is neuer a one of you that heares me, that cares the leaſt for the ſport, for preſeruation of the game, but he would be

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as glad to haue a pastie of Venison if you might get it, as the best Hunter would: And if the game bee not preserued, you can eate no Venison. As for Partridge and Phesant, I doe not deny that Gentlemen should haue their sport, and specially vpon their owne ground. But first I doe not thinke such Game and Pleasures should be free to base people. And next I would euen wish that Gentlemen should vse it in a Gentlemanlike fashion, and not with Nets, or Gurines, or such other vngentlemanlike fashions that serue but for vtter destruction of all Game, nor yet to kill them at vnseasonable times, as to kill the Phesant and Partridges when they are no bigger then Mice, when as for euery one their Hawkes kill, ten will be destroyed with their Dogges and Horse feete; besides the great and intollerable harme they doe to Corne in that season.

And now in the end of all this fashious Speach, I must conclude like a Grey Frier, in speaking for my selfe at last. At the be-

ginning of this Session of Parliament, when the Treasurer opened my necessities vnto you, then my Purse onely laboured; But now that word is spread both at home and abroad of the demaunds I haue made vnto you; my Reputation laboureth aswell as my Purse. For if you part without the repairing of my State in some reasonable sort, what can the world thinke, but that the euill will my Subiects beare vnto mee, hath bred a refuse? And yee can neuer part so, without apprehending that I am distasted with your behauiour, and yet to be in feare of my displeasure. But I assure and promise my selfe farre otherwise.

THus haue I now performed my promise, in presenting vnto you the Chrystall of your Kings Heart.

Yee knowe that principally by three wayes ye may wrong a Mirrour.

First, I pray you, looke not vpon my Mirror with a false light; which ye doe, if ye mistake, or mis-vnderstand my Speach, and so alter the sence thereof.

But secondly, I pray you beware to soile it with a foule breath, and vncleane hands: I meane, that ye peruert not my words by any corrupt affections, turning them to ill meaning, like one, who when hee heares the tolling of a Bell, fancies to himselfe, that it speakes those words which are most in his minde.

And lastly, (which is worst of all) beware to let it fall or breake: (for glasse is brittle,) which ye doe, if ye light-lye esteeme it, and by contemning it conforme not your selues to my perswasions.

To conclude then. As all these three dayes of Iubile haue fallen in the midst of this Season of penitence, wherin you haue presented your thankes to me, and I the like againe to you: So do I wish and hope, that the ende of this Parliament will bee such,

ſuch, as wee may all haue cauſe (both I your Head, and yee the Body) to ioyne in Euchariſticke Thankes and Praiſes vnto God, for our ſo good and happy an end.